MESSAGE

OF THE

VERNOR OF KENTUCKY

TO THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

AT ITS

DECEMBER SESSION, 1855.

FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY.
A. G. HODGES::::::::::STATE PRINTER.
1855.

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GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

tlmen of the Senate and House of Representatives:

You have convened according to the forms of the constitution
erate upon, and to provide for, the general welfare and interests
common constituents. I tender to you my congratulations up-
h happy and prosperous condition of our beloved Commonwealth.
t heart must indeed be callous, that would not bow in humble and
nd gratitude for the extraordinary blessings which have been
ed upon us by a merciful Providence. With the exception of
localities, we have been blessed during the past year with unusu-
d health. A season of unprecedented abundance has rewarded
ors of the husbandman, and full and remunerating prices for all
ducts of the earth, have produced throughout our borders a
almost unexampled prosperity. Our treasury is abundant and
blic debt gradually becoming extinguished. Every pecuniary
upon the State has been promptly met and discharged.

essed with peace—cultivating a soil of the richest and most pro-
character, with the heritage of liberty as the birthright of every
governed by a system of equal, just, and salutary laws—with
constitutional guaranty to every one to worship Almighty God ac-
to the dictates of his own conscience—attached to a National
rnment, which has expanded into a Union of thirty-one sovereign
es, all alike free, inhabited by twenty-five millions of kindred
—our people have indeed cause to be grateful to God for his
ful kindness to us as a State and Nation, and for the infinite
with which he endowed our Fathers who achieved the indepen-
nd secured to us the liberty we enjoy.

constitution of the State having prescribed biennial sessions of
slature, it becomes my duty, in giving to you information of
e of the Commonwealth, to refer you to the report of the Au-
r the year 1854, which will be laid before you.

ll be seen, as stated by my predecessor in his last message,
balance in the treasury on the 10th of October, 1853, was
,32 23. The receipts into the treasury from the 11th October,
, to the 10th of October, 1854, amounted to $697,469 55—mak-
aggregate of $885,101 78. This includes not only the reve-
for the ordinary expenses of the government, but the tax of five
ts on the $100 for the Sinking Fund, and two cents for Common
purposes. The amount of expenditures for the same period was

$773,381 47—leaving a balance in the treasury on the 10th of ber, 1854, of $111,720 31. During this year, and out of the ceipts, there was transferred to the Sinking Fund, for the five revenue, taxes on forfeited lands, and tax on insurance offices, $ 885 48; there was also transferred for surplus revenue, for the ending 10th of October, 1853, $60,000—making, 10th October, $239,845 48. During this year there was also transferred, i manner, to the School Fund for the two cents revenue, divide bank stock, tax on bank stock, and interest on school bonds, th of $89,513 76.

The receipts into the treasury from the 11th of October, 18 the 10th of October, 1855, amounted to $883,707 49. To the balance in the treasury on the 10th day of October, 1854, of 720 31, added, will make the sum of $995,427 80. The ex tures, including the transfers to the Sinking and School Fu mounted to $739,696 25—leaving in the treasury on the 10th tober, 1855, the sum of $255,731 55. Of this sum there be to the Sinking Fund the sum of $104,687 54; to the School $56,839 90; to ordinary revenue, $94,204 11—making the mount, as before stated, $255,731 55.

During the year there was transferred to the Sinking Fund five cents revenue, for taxes on forfeited lands, and on insurance the sum of $194,846 65; and to the School Fund for the tw revenue, dividends on bank stock, tax on bank stock, interest on bonds, &c., $226,363 11. These items constitute a part of the gate expenditures reported for this year. Since the 10th of O 1855, the above sum of $104,687 54 has been transferred to th ing Fund. Also, the surplus revenue at the close of the fiscal y mounting to $76,518 55—leaving in the treasury on the 10th tober, 1855, as ordinary revenue, $17,685 56. The law req surplus to be left of ten thousand dollars, and the residue of the sum was for outstanding balances against the treasury.

The receipts for the year ending the 10th day of October, 18 estimated by the Auditor as follows, viz: The revenue of 1 mounts to $717,073 27. Charges, &c., will be about $50,00 mount paid previous to the 10th of October, 1855, the sum of 79—leaving in the treasury the sum of $661,326 48. Of th $194,507 78 belongs to the Sinking Fund, and $77,803 12 to the School Fund—making $272,310 90 to be deducted— for ordinary revenue the sum of $389,015 58. Estimated rec ordinary revenue from other sources, $139,950. Balance in th ury on the 10th of October, 1855, $17,685 56—making the gate sum of $546,651 14.

The estimated expenditures for 1856, $381,050; estimated

pid, $160,000—making an aggregate of $541,050; which would
w a balance in the treasury, on the 10th day of October, 1856, of
,01 14.

This view of our finances, while showing a sufficient amount for all
e ecessary purposes of an economical administration of the govern-
er, at the same time admonishes us against any extraordinary or
vn expenditure of the public money. While I would avoid parsi-
or, I cannot too strongly recommend the observance of a wise and
dary economy in all our public expenditures. A portion of the
ble revenue has been dedicated by the constitution to the payment
te interest upon the public debt and to its gradual extinction, and
ni it may be increased, cannot be diminished. It is the settled and
xe policy of our State to extinguish our public debt as rapidly as
ur sources will allow, and it is a source of gratification and pride,
a the means already dedicated to that end, are ample to pay the in-
rt as it accrues, and if wisely and prudently managed, to extin-
ui the principal at its maturity.

rom the 31st of December, 1853, to the 4th of September, 1855,
h the term of my predecessor expired there was paid of the prin-
p of the State debt the sum of $162,009. Since I have been in
ffi, $31,000, up to the 30th of November, 1855, have been paid—
a ng the entire aggregate of our State debt on that day $5,991,576
3 Of this sum $600,000 are held by the Southern Bank of Ken-
uc y, the interest upon which it is bound to pay, and for which the
te holds that amount of stock, and $1,369,664 73, are held by
he board of education, the interest upon which only may be consid-
re a perpetual charge upon the Sinking Fund. The actual debt, the
ri cipal of which has to be provided for, is, therefore, $4,021,912.
ine the 30th of November, 1855, up to which period the above state-
ut is made, there has been redeemed of the public debt the sum of
1,000. The semi-annual interest due the 1st day of January,
86, has been forwarded to New York, and will be promptly paid.
'o details with regard to the public debt, when the bonds were issued,
ner what law, and when maturing, and for a detailed statement of
h resources of the Sinking Fund, I refer you to the report of the
o missioners, which will be laid before you.

The total receipts of the Sinking Fund from 1st of January, 1854,
o he 10th of October of the same year, including the balance then
nand, were $391,103 80. The expenditures during the same period
re $242,695 05—leaving a balance in the Treasury on the 10th of
)ober, 1854, of $148,408 75. The receipts from the 10th of Oc-
o r, 1854, to the 10th of October, 1855, including the above bal-
ar e, were $662,494 50. The expenditures during the same period
we $519,015 87—leaving a balance in the Treasury on the 10th of

October, 1855, of $143,478 63. From 11th of October, 18
30th of November, 1855, there was transferred to the Sinking
of the surplus revenue, $76,518 55, and for collection of re
transferred, the sum of $104,687 54—the three sums making
gregate amount of $324,684 72. The expenditures from the 1
October, 1855, to 30th of November, $7,868 50—leaving a b
in the Sinking Fund, on the 30th of November, 1855, of $316,8
This balance is after the payment of the interest due 1st of Ja
1856. This entire surplus may be safely used in purchasin
bonds of the State, and I have accordingly anxiously sought to
such investment. The holders of our bonds, however, seem rel
to bring them into market, and comparatively a small amount
has been purchased. This fund, by law, remained on deposit
banks without yielding anything to the Sinking Fund. The co
sioners concurred with me that as long as it remained uncalled
bank, it ought to command some reasonable interest. According
arrangement was made with the Bank of Kentucky, that it s
keep the sum of $100,000 in the city of New York, without c
for its transfer, for the purpose of purchasing bonds of the Stat
on which an interest of three per cent. per annum should be paid
for the sum of $210,000 an interest of four cent. should be pai
whole deposit of $310,000, or any part of it, to be subject to ca
the commissioners, whenever wanted for investment or any othe
pose. It is desirable that this fund should be used as speedily as
ticable in redeeming our debt, and no pains will be spared to effect
object.

I am happy to inform you that the School Fund is in a healthy
prosperous condition. The interest upon the bonds of the State
by the Board of Education has been regularly and promptly pai
the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, and all the means set
and dedicated to common school education have been applied to
purpose. The system is in operation in every county in the C
monwealth. For the detailed operations of the system since the
meeting of the General Assembly, I refer you to the able and sati
tory report of the superintendent for the year 1854, and to the re
he will lay before you for the year 1855. The annual resource
the fund are there set forth in connection with the disbursements
each county of the Commonwealth.

By the 3rd section of article 1 of the common school law, it is
rected that the balance to the credit of the counties, not called for
year, shall be transferred by the Board of Education to the Com
sioners of the Sinking Fund, and that the Governor shall execut
bond of the State therefor to the Board of Education, redeemabl
the pleasure of the Legislature, and not transferable, bearing six

nterest, payable annually, and specifying therein the amount
each county. My predecessor, in pursuance of this provision
law, on the 23d of August, 1855, issued to the Board of Edu-
a bond of the State for $42,894 72, which added to the bonds
isly held by the board, makes the aggregate of bonds $1,369,-
3. The interest upon these bonds, the dividends upon 735
of stock in the Bank of Kentucky, the tax on the capital stock
Farmers Bank and the Commercial Bank, and the revenue de-
n two cents tax on the one hundred dollars worth of property in
te, constitute the available resources of this fund. The last leg-
e, deeming that the system might be rendered more efficient and
by additional active means, by an act approved March 7th,
directed that the sense of the qualified voters of the Common-
should be taken upon the propriety and expediency of impos-
additional tax of three cents on each one hundred dollars worth
perty in the State, for the purpose of increasing this fund. In
nce of this act, a poll was opened throughout the State, at the
gust election, which resulted in a vote of 82,765 for the tax,
2,239 against it, giving a majority of 57,526 votes.

ill be your privilege to carry into effect this decisive and em-
expression of the popular will. The means derived from this
nal tax, with the other resources at command, will be amply suf-
to sustain and expand the system, which has already achieved
h good for the rising generation. No one who will travel through
ate can see without pride and exultation, the great number
ol houses which have sprung up in every part of our land,
with happy and joyous children, eagerly imbibing the rudiments
ning. I need not here dwell upon the importance of education,
surest guaranty for the perpetuity of our free institutions. With
lings that are entertained in common by the great mass of our
tuents, I am sure that I need not exhort you to foster and pro-
is great popular interest. It has intertwined itself with the pop-
art, and the people have decreed that it shall be placed upon a
nent and enduring basis. With the extension of the system it
come more and more popular. The school-master is no longer
ed as the hired pedant, but has accorded to him that high posi-
society which every public benefactor is entitled to. His is re-
de as a high and honorable profession, and at no period in the his-
our State has the public interest more imperiously demanded
is profession should be fostered and encouraged. The time has
se by when mere labor and bodily toil can make the successful
n or artisan. The rapid and almost miraculous improvements in
hinery, the railroads already constructed and projected, that thread
ntry, with their massive engines, requiring daily educated labor;

the advance in agricultural chemistry; the application of scienc construction of almost every farming implement—all tell us, guage that cannot be mistaken, that the farmer, the artisan, day laborer ought to be educated. What can he expect who is upon the world without means and without education; and boundless field for success does our country afford to him who cated, honest and industrious! Yet it is not pretended that a h der of education is requisite for the enterprising young man t with success in this race. The elements of an education are all absolutely required. Open to him the book of knowledge; tea how to learn; let him realize that he can become educated, and ed with a stout heart, and that iron will which is the elemen success, he will advance in improvement until qualified to fill th ous stations in life to which he may be called.

In urging the importance of elementary or common school tion, I do not wish by any means to intimate that it is all th good of the country or the honor or necessities of the State d A higher grade of learning is necessary to meet the wants of s and for a fair development of the genius of our people. As y tivate the intellect, you aid in the general diffusion of know and manly sentiment, refined taste, and elevated thought have diffusive influence wherever found. A higher order of educa necessary to sustain and improve the common school system. ular demand for education—the first and necessary step for suc has already been created. That demand should be supplied b nishing able and qualified teachers. In the report of the learn distinguished Superintendent who did more than all others to and impart vitality to our present system, this view was sug and to my mind conclusively established as an essential ingred the successful operation of our common schools. Dr. Brecki proposed that the State should re-organize Transylvania Univ make it the head of the common school system, and erect it school for the special purpose of educating teachers—but with t lateral design of affording instruction to any who might apply For the details of his plan, I beg leave to invite your attention report for the year 1850. I submit the whole subject to your judgment, promising my hearty co-operation to whatever may ad the cause of education, or give stability to, or increase the use of, our common school system.

As much of the business of the Superintendent is necessaril nected with the revenue department of the government, I sugg propriety of his removing his office to the seat of government, more frequent meetings can be had of the Board of Educatio more efficiency imparted to the system.

ondition of our charitable institutions will be a subject for nuiry and investigation. You will have before you the reports s under whose superintendence they are placed, and it will be ly to see that the humane and philanthropic object of their isment has in no manner been misdirected or perverted, and a, to apply the necessary corrective.

laim upon the public benevolence and sympathy in behalf of ntic and idiot, of the deaf and dumb, and of the blind, has kept n the advance of civilization. Our State was among the first lish a hospital for the insane. It has been followed by the es- ent of another. It has established an asylum for the deaf ub, and a school for the education of the blind.

nfortunate mute, under the fostering care of kind and attentive has been taught the perfect command of written and printed e, and his advancement in the higher departments of learning ylimited by the degree of his application and genius. The ve in like manner been instructed in reading, and made useful us trades and domestic employments.

sylum for the deaf and dumb is now in the thirty-third year istence. It is a State institution, and subject to its control. een managed with eminent skill and ability, and its blessings diffused over the country. Its trustees, since the last meet- he General Assembly, have erected a new and substantial edi- ge enough for their present and prospective wants, instead of ng to make temporary additions to their old buildings. They tion the Legislature for some aid to complete their edifice, and t hesitate to commend their application to your favorable con- on.

e, however, modern philanthropy has achieved such triumphs mute and the blind, the neglected and loathed idiot, from a be- t his case is beyond the reach of benevolence, is still left in g, and, in many cases, squalid imbecility; yet experience has tablished the fact that many if not most idiots are susceptible or less, and some of considerable improvement. The experi- other communities has shown that largely more than half of n be educated so as to make them self-supporting, and the con- f all greatly ameliorated.. We are paying annually from our upwards of $20,000 for the support of this poor and neglect- of our population. The propriety and expediency of some n for their education is a subject well worthy of legislative in-

particular and early attention is respectfully invited to the con- of our State Prison. The present Keeper came into office on of March, 1855. The number of prisoners then in confine-

ment was 193. The number received since that time has be
making 311. Of this number 13 have died, and 61 been d
by expiration of sentence and executive pardon—leaving 23
prison. The law contemplates the confinement of these pri
solitary cells at night; yet on examination, it will be found t
are not more than 126 cells which can be safely used. Thes
damp and unhealthy, and altogether unworthy of the spirit o
The hospital is confined, close, without the possibility of fresl
wholly unfit for the purpose. No bedding more than blan
ever been supplied since it has been a prison. The present
and efficient Keeper complained of this almost as soon as he
office, but the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund did not th
they had the power to remedy the oversight of past Legislat
declined to make provision for such bedding as seemed to be d
by the public sentiment of the country. It will be your duty
such action on this whole subject as in your wisdom you m
right and proper. It is well worthy of your serious inves
whether the partnership feature in the law, between the State
Keeper, may not be abolished with advantage to the Commo
It involves a long and complicated and difficult settlement at
of each Keeper's term, and what has been an apparent profi
State, usually dwindles to about the amount guarantied by
tract. I am inclined to think if a reasonable sum were agre
paid in gross by the Keeper, either annually or semi-annually
ing all the expenses of the establishment, and holding the pri
now is, subject to legislative management, it would be altogeth
erable to the present system. It will be for you, however, to
gate, this subject and to ascertain what may be done, and to
such course as will be most conducive to the public interest.
operations and business of the institution, since the first of
last, I refer you to the report of the Keeper, which will be lai
you. Before dismissing this subject, I cannot omit to bear m
mony to the fidelity with which the present Keeper has perfor
the duties of his office. It is believed that the prison never h
in better condition, or more prudently managed.

The law of the last session of the General Assembly, ab
musters, has had the effect to destroy our militia system, and t
the State in a defenseless condition in any sudden emergency
public arms which had been distributed to the militia, have be
tered, and very many of them can never be restored to the Stat
nal. The requisition of the law of Congress upon the Adjutan
eral of each State, to make and forward to the President of the
States annually, a return of the militia of the State, with thei
accoutrements, and ammunition, cannot be complied with. Un

08, the annual distribution of arms was made according to
h of the militia reported according to law; but by an act of
ngress, the distribution is directed to be made according to
r of Representatives and Senators in Congress, with a pro-
the Secretary of War shall first equalize, as far as practi-
h number of arms heretofore distributed, so that each State
received less than its *pro rata* shall receive a number sufficient
a equal proportion, according to the number of Representa-
Senators. It is believed that this law will give a largely in-
tribution to this State. We have now in the public Arsenal
of ordnance, and 3 reported in the hands of the militia;
d of muskets, and 1,250 in the hands of the militia; 1,591
230 in the hands of the militia; 179 carbines, and 80 in
of the militia; 1,436 swords, and 110 in the hands of the
Colt's revolvers, and 4 in the hands of the militia; and
ols, and one mortar. Many of these arms are worthless;
s can be made fit for use, I have ordered to be put and kept
ondition. I recommend that a committee be appointed to
hat proportion of these arms are useless, and what disposi-
l be made of such as may be found unfit to be repaired.

ct approved January 9th, 1852, "to provide for the regis-
births, deaths, and marriages in Kentucky," it was made the
e Assessors, while making their lists of taxable property,
and record in a separate list, all the births, marriages, and
eh shall have occurred in their respective counties in the
ths ending on the 31st day of December last preceding the
essment, with all the items of time, place, &c. Under this
nnual reports have been made, and although it is apparent
turns are not as full and as accurate as they ought to be,
ghly complimentary notices of these reports by those skilled
tistics, it is probable that we have been more successful in
ccurate information than any of our sister States in the
h of time. The advantages of such registration, when care-
and properly and skillfully digested, cannot fail to be seen
ecting mind. They may not be so apparent for the first
but with each additional year the deductions drawn from
shed data will command more and more confidence. The
f these statistics costs but little, and they teach us where
of mortality most abound, "and admonish us to adopt plans
ng malign influences, and for promoting health." They
verage of human existence in different localities, and furnish
r the more perfect computations of the chances of life, be-
ing many facts of great value to the political economist, as
illustration of physiological laws. The reports already

published give more or less perfectly the facts of 156,631 p
have passed the epoch of birth, marriage, or death, viz: 79,
15,858 marriages; and 35,789 deaths. These records will
relative health, longevity and fecundity of the free and the
ulation of our State. They show how many have died o
ease, in each county, and in the whole State. When greate
has been attained in collecting details, we shall have asce
grade of public health with as much certainty as we now
value of the different kinds of property in the Commonwe
amount of time and labor, as well as the minute accurac
in the formation of all the necessary tables from the mass o
ed returns of the assessors, compelled the Auditor to reso
the aid of a skilful physician who has devoted special atten
subject. I recommend that a fair allowance, as heretofore,
this service, and suggest the propriety of passing some per
on the subject.

Under an act to provide for a Geological and Mineralogi
of the State, approved 6th of March, 1854, my predecesso
Mr. David D. Owen, an able and accomplished geologist
experience and great practical skill, to carry the law into
has been diligently and most industriously engaged, and fo
of his labors I cannot do better than to refer you to the
and learned report herewith submitted. It will be seen tha
rations are yet unfinished. Of the importance and value of
vey as will be made by one so justly celebrated in his p
cannot entertain a doubt, nor can I doubt that the incalcul
of such a survey will be properly appreciated by the repres
the people. The development of the mineral wealth of th
opening of abundant and inexhaustible supplies of chea
quantities, kinds, and varieties of minerals, their locality a
cal position, and that of the salt, saltpetre, coal, marbl
stone, and rock, the different soils and the means of the
ment and renovation, are some of the fruits to result from
The successful completion of a work which has been inau
der such flattering auspices, will not merely advance the c
ence and learning, but cannot fail to add to the substantial
State, and render regions now comparatively sterile and wo
perous and wealthy. I cannot hesitate to recommend that
appropriation be made to progress with or complete the sur

My predecessor, in his last message, recommended to the
in order to encourage and foster the agricultural and mecha
ests of the State, that a sum of money should be appropri
purpose of dispensing premiums to those who might produ
fruits, grains, vegetables, animals, agricultural implemen

domestic manufactures. I concurred with him in that re-
nation when made, and in renewingit I beg that you will be-
n it your most favorable consideration. These premiums
awarded in a manner to be prescribed by law, at the mechan-
agricultural exhibitions now established in various parts of
t and could not fail to be highly beneficial in awakening a
ivalry in the productions of mechanical skill, and in the va-
ducts of agricultural labor. The beneficial results in other
our Union, of distributing State premiums at their industrial
as, have been felt and acknowledged.

e present condition of our works of internal improvement, I
r you to the report of the President of the Board, which will
fore you at an early day. The dividends from these works
lly dedicated by the constitution to the Sinking Fund. No
l can be contracted on behalf of the Commonwealth, unless
be at the same time made to lay and collect an annual tax
to pay the interest stipulated, and to discharge the debt with-
years, nor can such debt be made until the law shall have
mitted to the people at a general election, and shall have re-
majority of all the votes cast for and against it. With this
constitutional prohibition, there can be no expenditures by the
re in new schemes of public improvement. The dividends
e of the public works might be greatly enhanced by their
, and I recommend that the most liberal inducements should
l to individuals and companies to effect such extension.

we cannot increase our public debt, it is gratifying to know
people of Kentucky are beginning to estimate properly the
vantages of extended railroad improvements, and are making
active and energetic movements to meet the iron arms that
States are extending towards our borders. It is not too vis-
o look forward to the day when the road from the mouth of
y shall be completed to the Mississippi river, and constitute a
e great Atlantic and Pacific route, which must sooner or later
in order to bind together by iron bands the now distant parts
reat confederacy.

anks of our State are in a sound and prosperous condition.
ve generally been judiciously conducted, and will compare fa-
with similar institutions in any other State. They afford a
of uniform value, and the public confidence in their solvency
ken. There is no subject in which the community is more vi-
erested than in having a sound and convertible currency. To
e fictitious value too often attached to property, to prevent the
cation of schemes of visionary speculation, to escape the indis-
trayal into increased indebtedness and a more extended busi-

ness, presenting that delusive, artificial, and transient prosper is so often the forerunner of bankruptcy, there ought to be no sary or unsafe expansion of the currency. There is no fact cal economy better established than that an excess of pa leads to the exportation of the precious metals. It lessens the of the banks to redeem their paper, and produces those cons tuations which are so disastrous to the best interests of the co If not the direct cause, it is inseparably connected with tho sions and monetary revolutions, which have visited our countr short intervals.

With these convictions on my mind, I do not think that it w anything to the prosperity of the State to increase the numb banks. All the banks in the State have now the right to i dollar bills. I recommend a prohibition of the issue or ci after a specified time, of any bank note of a less denominati five dollars. I do not doubt but that the banks will confo legislative wish upon this subject. By making the measure tive, gold and silver will soon supply the vacuum caused by t drawal of the small bills, and the wholesome change will be al perceptibly effected.

By section 24 of article 4 of the Constitution, the General bly, if they deem it necessary, may establish one additional district every four years. In some parts of the State there complaints of the want of time to discharge the judicial busin it has accumulated to such an extent as to be almost a deni tice. I recommend, therefore, that you increase the judicial of the State as far as you are authorized to do by the Constitut equalize the labors of all as far as it may be in your power.

I am unwilling to close this communication without calli attention to the present condition of our federal relations. K being a border slave State has had more cause to complain of tations of fanaticism, and of the practical encroachments u rights, than perhaps any other State of the confederacy, yet manifested no other spirit than that of conciliation and calm ance; and in those angry sectional conflicts which have convul nation she has stood almost as an arbiter between the north a south, and whenever the Union was supposed to be in danger not hesitated to yield her opinions and her interests as a sacrifi the altar of patriotism. With such feelings deeply imbedded popular heart, she has witnessed with pain and mortification the ing strides that are making by a great and growing sectional p the north to obliterate the constitutional guaranty of her righ to weaken if not to sever the ties by which we are bound toge a common brotherhood. She has lamented and mourned ov

reckless spirit which has hurried the descendants of the he-
unker Hill and Lexington to a desecration of the Federal
ion, by an attempted nullification of a supreme law of the
ae in pursuance of its provisions. She has seen with dismay
ernation this spirit of discord enter into the sanctuary of our
l berties. She still looks to the Union as the best if not the
crity for her peace and happiness, and a faithful and honest
' the constitution as the only guaranty of liberty.

eare certain great and fundamental principles which are mo-
e by no party, which rise above all party claim, and which it
profanation to surrender to party use. These principles lie
ondation of our government, and guaranty a perfect equality
to each and every State of this confederacy. It was the on-
ion upon which the Union could have been formed, and it is the
upon which it can be preserved. It is the fundamental basis
y f the general welfare, but in all human probability, of liber-
f. The most emphatic words of the Father of his Country, and
mpassioned declamation of the orator as to the value of the
unciate but the calmest truth. Its dissolution would be
reaking up of a gallant ship on a prosperous voyage, in order
ew might find greater safety on its loose, dismembered, and
fragments. The real enemies of the Union are those who
sectional agitation—those who are banded together to bring
of a common Federal Government for all the States into an
f hostility to the property of a part—they are the practical
nts. They forget or disregard all the compromises which im-
aty to the constitution. The dark and rampant spirit of abo-
nd freesoilism, regardless alike of the admonitions of patri-
the dictates of justice, is threatening, in its mad career, to
e very foundation of the Union.

Federal Government, in its original organization, conformed it-
s wisely to the then condition of the people and the property
nded to protect. Slavery then existed in most of the States.
itution did not pretend to make any change whatever in the
f master and slave. The property in slaves, such as it was,
d, and the constitution recognized it without limitation and
to the owner its unqualified protection. It created no prop-
recognized whatever was property in the States as such, and
e condition in which it was found. When it speaks of prop-
ever was made so by any of the States, was what was intend-
id not undertake to define what was or was not property.
Federal Government being one of limited powers, cannot im-
take from anything its attribute of property. If it cannot
slavery in a territory, it cannot destroy it. Whatever is pro-

perty in any one of the States, if carried into a territory ca its character of property by the action of the General Gover

I am deeply and profoundly impressed with the conviction only safety to the Union, is the firm establishment of the that the Federal Government should abstain unconditiona all hostile action upon the subject of slavery. It is a gover the slaveholding States as well as the free, and it has no right even its moral influence against the tenure of property reco such by any of its constituent parts. It would be a gross pr of its powers and a departure from the objects of its org to do so. As a common government for all the States, was intended by its framers, that it should discriminate the property of one State or one section and another. is the law of its existence. I deprecate as much as can, the formation of sectional or geographical parties. Th sympathy and interest which bind us together as one people weaker and weaker with the growth of unfriendly feelings ari the existence of such parties, until finally we shall become a strangers to each other. The existence of mere geographic is the first great step to disunion. To prevent that I was unite with a party whose principles were sufficiently broad an hensive and patriotic to entitle itself to the name of Americ great and leading and fundamental article of the political cre organization was undying devotion to the Union of the St every other principle it held was but subsidiary to this. The p of this mighty Republic, with all its countless blessings, thro erations which are to follow, was its end and aim. The same of fanaticism which has produced schisms in other parties, has work here also. The crisis of our country's fate, though im is not yet come, and I trust that the time is far, very far dist the section to which we belong, shall feel compelled in sorro anguish to calculate the value of the Union. To avert a dreadful I cannot doubt that the national men of all parties, discordant may be their opinions on other points, will finally u by their firm, determined and patriotic action save the country ruthless grasp of the enemies of the Union.

C. S. MOREH

January 1, 1856.